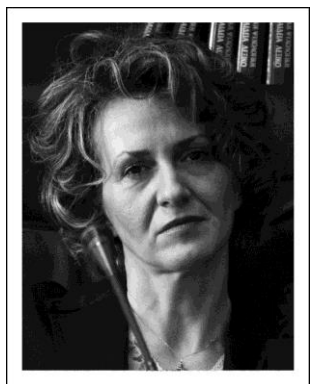


ACCEPTING OR REJECTING LITURGICAL RULES IN THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

*Attempts at Notational Reform: The case of Agapios Paliermos and Jacob the Protopsaltes**

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ABSTRACT

The Byzantine musical notation and its right performance have been discussed already during the second half of the 15th century. Chrysanthos of Madytos refers to the says of Ioannes Trapezountios, who in the mid-18th century supported that the long musical teaching made it complicated and that it was indispensable to have a notational system easier and simpler. Some years after the death of Petros Peloponesios, at the end of the 18th century, Agapios Paliermos, after having spent several years in Europe where he was studying the Western music, presented two notational methods, the first one based on the staff notation and the second one alphabetical. However, the reactions against Agapios' staff

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system - mainly came from Iakovos protopsaltes - have not permitted its essential adoption. Iakovos protopsaltes has been the major obstacle to the application of his system. According to Chrysanthos of Madytos' testimony two facts are referred as the impediments: a. Iakovos has never been persuaded that the Byzantine notation had to be changed and b. his ironical and satirical behavior towards Agapios, his person and his teaching method frustrated the creator of the new notational system. Agapios' attempt does not have to be considered as a self-centered movement in order to discredit and eliminate the traditional Byzantine notational system and to impose his own method. His attempts on notational reform have not been fruitful because they have been really radical, while, on the contrary, the new analytical method, which has finally been chosen, was a bright system with several elements of the staff notation occurring beneath the Byzantine signs. Nevertheless, Agapios' notational systems, clearly turned towards the Western notation and the Ancient Greek music, have been the beginning of sequence of analogous attempts of the 19th century, such as the notational system of Georgios Lesvios, the alphabetical systems of Bucharest and the one of Paisios of the Monastery of Xeropotamos, or the attempts to harmonize the Byzantine chant and, clearly, the whole „musical issue“ of the beginning of the 20th century.

Key words: Notational reform, Agapios Paliermos, alphabetical system

The Byzantine musical notation and its right performance were already discussed during the second half of the 15th century, according to the testimony of Manuel Chrysaphes. Indeed, he notes in the Preface of his treatise: „thus, the science of chanting does not consist only of *parallage* as some of the present generation imagine but includes many other methods [...]. If someone were to say, ‘I have composed a melody which does not lack notes – not a single note is missing which ought to be there – and it is really correct and sound in its use of *parallage* so that nothing is absent nor any other element needed for perfection’, we must consider that such a person thinks and speaks wrongly and he has deviated from the correct principles of the science. [...] For, if he were right, as in his ignorance he would probably claim to be, there would have been no need for Ioannes Glykys to have composed methods for the *theseis* in chanting and after him for the maistor Ioannes to have composed another method and the chanted signs, and after him for Korones to have composed the other two methods of the *kratemata* and the other for the *stichera*“⁶⁷. From this testimony,

⁶⁷ D. Conomos (ed.), *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Corpus Scriptorum de re Musica II*, Wien 1985, 38-41. See also, Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*, Trieste 1832, XLVI, 69: „Ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου ἀνεφάνησαν διδάσκαλοι τῆς Μουσικῆς, λέγοντες, ὅτι συνίσταται τὸ πᾶν τῆς Μουσικῆς εἰς τὴν

but also from the following teaching about the *theseis*, it can be testified that already during the period of action of Manuel Chrysaphes, the stenographic character of the notation and the long content of the musical formulas began to be obscure and the metrophonic dimension of the compositions began to be displayed by some who „held certain erroneous views about it“.

At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, another composer, Akakios Chalkeopoulos from Crete appeared⁶⁸. His autograph manuscript, conserved in the National Library of Greece under the number 917, dated around 1500 according to the watermarks⁶⁹, contains an *Anastasimatarion*, several chants from *Sticherarion* and *Eirmologion*, a short Anthology and among others a particular treatise, which consists, probably, the first attempt of analysis – and perhaps transcription – of the Byzantine notation. The term „exegeses“, „theseis olographes“ and „aporroes exegemenes“ appeared in the treatise of Akakios Chalkeopoulos for the first time in the Byzantine musical terminology. Much more interesting, although obscure, is the following note on the f. 15r of his manuscript: „Because some of the teachers of the Music Science said about my shapes that when I will be dead the shapes will be preserved by my students, because they know and perform them; but when my students will be dead the shapes will be motionless and inactive, because nobody from the teachers knows how to perform them. So, now in my last years I changed my mind and I transformed the shapes in the text; and the text asks for the shape“⁷⁰. However, although this last

Μετροφωνίαν· καὶ ὅτι τὰ περὶ τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ θέσεων λεγόμενα ἦσαν περιττά· πρὸς οὓς ἀντιφερόμενος ὁ Χρυσάφης, συνέγραψε τὸ περὶ Μουσικῆς ἐγχειριδίον του· τὸ ὅποιον δὲν φανερόνι ἄλλο, παρὰ ἀνασκευὴν τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων φρονημάτων, καὶ ἔκθεσιν τῶν χαρακτήρων καὶ τῶν θέσεων, καὶ σκοτεινὴν τινα διασάφησιν τῶν φθορῶν. Ὡς τόσον ἔκτοτε παρῆμεινεν ἡ δίδαξις τῆς μετροφωνίας ἕως εἰς ἡμᾶς. [...]

⁶⁸ Emmanouil Giannopoulos, *Ἡ Ἀνθολογία τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης στὴν Κρήτη (1669)*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 11, Athens 2004, 80-88. Gr. Th. Stathes, *Συμπόσιον περὶ Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς καὶ 'Δειναὶ θέσεις' καὶ 'ἐξηγήσεις'*, „Θεολογία ΜΓ“, 1982, 749-782.

⁶⁹ Manouil Chatzegiakoumes, *Χειρόγραφα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς (1453-1820)*, Athens 1980, 113-114.

⁷⁰ EBE 917, f. 15r: „Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς διδάσκαλοι τὸν (sic) τῆς μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμης διηγήσαντο περὶ τῶν σχημάτων μου, ὅτι ἀπόντος καμοῦ Ἀκακίου Χαλκεόπουλου καὶ θανόντος διαμένουσι τὰ σχήματα εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς μου· διότι τὰ γινώσκουσι καὶ ψάλλονται· ἀποθανόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, διαμένουσιν τὰ σχήματα ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀνενέργητα. Διότι οὐδεὶς τῶν διδασκάλων γινώσκει να τα ψάλῃ. Νῆν (sic) δὲ ἐμεταμελήθηκα ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις μου καὶ ἔτρεψα τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ κείμενον· καὶ τὸ κείμενον ζητεῖ τὸ σχῆμα. Καὶ ὅστις διδάσκαλος ἀναπτῇσι (sic) καὶ

note means a kind of notational analysis, it remains obscure, especially relating to the terms „shapes” and „text”. The abovementioned testimony becomes more interesting – or challenging – if it is related to a following *koinonikon* composition and its title supposing a kind of arrangement: „the same *koinonikon* composition named *voulgara*, renamed Frankish by the compositor of the shapes. It is *organikon* (instrumental) and its music is unified with the tenor; the first and great performer has to chant it alone without others, and he has to perform the part of the tenor also alone when it is appropriate, so, he has to leave the text and move to the tenor part, and again to leave the tenor part and go to the text; it is true that if someone can perform it without mistake he is a great performer”⁷¹. This title at least implies a different musical education, as the term „Frankish” indicates, but also the instructions for the performance of the chant indicate a distinguished musical practice⁷². Apparently, these two testimonies have not been necessarily related to each other; nevertheless, if their significance is connected, Akakios probably could be considered as the first of a group of musical writers who suggest a more or less Western type of analysis of the notation, with a „transformation of the shapes”, i.e., the *theseis*, to „text”, i.e., in a form much more simple. This however is a matter that would require independent inquiry.

During the 16th century, another notational attempt followed, this time with a clear direction towards the western musical notation. Ieronymos Tragodistes, a Cypriot musician, whose action is dated between 1520 and 1560, after his staying in Italy and his learning period with the known teacher of music Gioseffo Zarlino⁷³, has written in about 1556/7 a

βούλεται ψάλλειν τὸ κείμενον λέγει τὰ πάντα ἀσφαλῶς, ὥσπερ ψάλλεται καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στιχεράριον· καὶ οὕτως διαλαμβάνεται”.

⁷¹ EBE 917 f. 148v: „τὸ αὐτὸ κοινωνικὸν ἢ βουλγάρα μετόνομασθεῖσα φράγγικον παρὰ τοῦ ποιούντος τὰ σχήματα. Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὀργανικὸν καὶ ἔχον τὸ μέλος ἴδιον ἴνωμένον (sic) μὲ τὸ τενόρε, να το ψάλλη ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας τεχνήτης (sic) μόνος του δίχος συντροφία· καὶ μόνος του νὰ κάμνη καὶ τὸ τενόρε εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου τὸ ζητὰ (sic) ἡγουν νὰ ἀφήνη τὸ κείμενον καὶ νὰ κάμνη τὸ τενώρε, καὶ πάλη (sic) ναφήνη (sic) τὸ τενόρε νάρχετε (sic) στὸ κείμενον· ἀληθῶς ἔχει πάνυ τὴν ἀκριβήαν (sic) ὅστις βρεθῇ τεχνήτης νὰ μπορέσι (sic) νὰ τὸ ψάλλη δίχος (sic) σφάλμα”. Gr. Stathis, “Διπλοῦν μέλος”. Μια παρουσίαση τῶν περιπτώσεων Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς στὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς”, vol. Τιμὴ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλο, Athens 2000, pp. 665-666.

⁷² See also, E. Giannopoulos, *Ἀνθολογία* 85-86.

⁷³ C. V. Palisca, „Zarlino Gioseffo”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 20 (1980), 646-649.

theoretical treatise⁷⁴. The whole essay consists of an obvious effort to totally reform the notation, with adoption of the staff notation and perhaps also of western polyphony. Although older scientists have suggested that this treatise could help towards the understanding of the Byzantine notation and its supposed diatonic character, probably because of the assignment of the two notational systems, related evidence has not been produced⁷⁵. Ieronymos has chosen the Byzantine theoretical structure in order to be followed by the Byzantine specialists, to whom he wanted it to be addressed. However, this did not happen, surely because these specialists have not been ready for such a radical change and, also, because the treatise of Ieronymos has not been edited, as he wished according to the letter in the preface, in which the writer seems to dedicate his work to an anonymous Cardinal demanding financial support for his edition⁷⁶. In the same dedicative letter, one can distinguish the reasons that led Ieronymos to such a radical proposition. He clearly says that from his childhood he had followed the teaching of the older composers and teachers, but he concluded that his contemporaries did not know the performance of the signs or the content of the *theseis*, although they used them, because of their negligence. They also lost happiness because of the same reason and the only way to re-find it is to chant to God. He also says that he was moved, apparently to invent another notational system, by pious thought and divine motivation. He finally proposes to apply another

⁷⁴About the person and the life of Ieronymos Tragodistes, see Stathis, *Οἱ Αναγραμματισμοὶ καὶ τὰ Μαθήματα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μελopoίας*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 3, Athens 1977, 131; by the same author, „Τὰ χειρόγραφα καὶ ἡ βυζαντινοσυναϊτικὴ μουσικὴ παράδοση. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς”, Vol. *Τιμὴ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλο ...*, Athens 2001, 461-466; O. Strunk, „A Cypriote in Venice”, *Natalicia Musicologica Knud Jeppesen* Ano MCMLXII Collegis oblata, 101-113; N. Panayiotakes, „Griechische Musiker im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts”, H. Eideneier (ed.), *Graeca recentiora in Germania. Deutsch-griechische Kulturbeziehungen vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* [Wolfenbüttele Forschungen 59], Wiesbaden 1994, 137-147; P. Agapetos, „Ἰερώνυμος Τραγωδιστὴς ὁ Κύπριος: ἓνας γραφέας καὶ μουσικὸς τῆς Ὀψιμῆς Αναγέννησης”, *Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15ο καὶ 16ο αἰῶνες*, Athens 2000, 283-300; D. Balageorgos, „Αναγραφὴ νέων στοιχείων καὶ μαρτυριῶν ἀπὸ τὴν Α' φάση καταλογογραφῆσεως τῶν συναϊτικῶν μουσικῶν χειρογράφων”, *Παρνασσός* Ν' 2008, 183-198. See also the critical edition of Ieronymos' theoretical treatise *Περὶ χρῆας μουσικῆς γραικῶν χαρακτήρων*, B. Schartau (ed.), *Hieronimos Tragodistes. Über das Erfordernis von Schriftzeichen für die Musik der Griechen*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Corpus Scriptorum de re Musica III, Wien 1990.

⁷⁵ Strunk, „A Cypriote” 102; Panayiotakes, „Griechische Musiker” 146. Gr. Th. Stathes, „Ἡ παλαιὰ βυζαντινὴ σημειογραφία καὶ τὸ πρόβλημα μεταγραφῆς τῆς εἰς τὸ πεντάγραμμον”, *Βυζαντινά* 7 (1975), 193-220; idem, *Αναγραμματισμοὶ* 56.

⁷⁶ B. Schartau, *Hieronimos*, pp. 34-38. Agapetos, „Ἰερώνυμος” 291.

notation using almost all the old signs and some others that he has invented⁷⁷. It is clear that Ieronymos had to confront to the following problem: because of the stenographic character of the notation, the musicians of his time ignored the content of the musical formulas and even the right performance of the phonetic signs, which led to a wrong performance of the chants. Consequently, Akakios and Ieronymos, in two different areas under Venetian occupation, Crete and Cyprus, almost during the same period, have to face the same problem: the specific Byzantine stenographic notation has begun to be obscure and forgotten, a fact leading to the wrong music performance.

In the time in-between Ieronymos Tragodistes and Balases the priest, it seems that there are no other attempts at notational reform, either towards a simplification of the Byzantine notation or towards an adaptation of the Western system. Balases the priest and his followers, pointing toward the right performance of the chant through the appropriate use of the notation, tried to write in a more analytical way, or to transcribe some of the compositions. Chrysanthos of Madytos refers to the words of Ioannes Trapezountios, who in the mid-18th century supported that the long musical teaching made things complicated and that it was indispensable to have a notational system which was easier and simpler. Ioannes Trapezountios was the first compositor who used a

⁷⁷ B. Schartau, *Hieronimos*, pp. 34-38: „Τούτοις [τοῖς παλαιοῖς διδασκάλοις] ἔγωγε τοίνυν παιδιόθεν κατ' ἴχνος ἐπόμενος, τὴν οὐσαν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡσικῶς μουσικὴν ἐπιστήμην διὰ τῶν ἐνταυθοὶ χαρακτηρισθῶν, τὰ τε κατ' αὐτὴν ἐμπίπτοντα θεασάμενος ἀτοπα, μήτοιγε διὰ τὴν τῶν πρότερον μὲν αὐτὴν ἀμέλειαν συστησάντων (καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ μὲν, ὥς προὔφημεν, σὺν ἅμα πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μαθήμασι, καὶ ταύτην καλῶς συστησάμενοι μεθοδικῶς συνετάξαντο), διὰ δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τε καὶ πρὸ μικροῦ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς τινων χρόνου, ἄλλων ἄλλως γε χρησαμένων αὐτῇ, μήτ' ὀλίγου τὴν φύσιν εἰδόντων, μήτ' ὀξείας, μήτ' ἀργοῦ ἢ γοργοῦ ἢ ὅλως τινὸς τῶν ἐπιλοίπων σημείων, καίτοι τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων χρωμένων· [ἦ]ν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως σὺν ἅμα πᾶσι ἄλλοις μαθήμασί τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀέλπως ἀπολωλέκειμεν (ἀμαρτάσιν οἶμοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις), ὧν ἀπολελαυκότες μέχρι πολλοῦ, τανῦν ὑστερούμενοι διακείμεθα πάντων· χαλεπὸν τε νομίσας εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπαχθεστάτων, κἄν εἰ μὴ ταύτην ἀνακτησώμεθα, ἴν' ὅπως μὲ τὸ θεῖον (ὥς ἐρρέθη) δοξολογήται ἀκαταπαύστως, μὴδὲ μίας δ' ὥς ἂν εἰ τις οἰηθεῖη γλιχόμενος, τῶν πῇ μὲν ὄντων, πῇ δὲ οὐκ ὄντων, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅλως (εἰ θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν) ὄντων δόξης, θεία τινὶ δ' ἐπινοία καὶ ζήλῳ, πρὸς ταύθ' ὠρμήθη, τοῦ κατὰ τὴν προσυστησάντων αὐτὴν ταύτην (ὥς ἐγῴμαι) τὴν ἐπιστήμην γνῶμην, διαρθώσασθαι τε καὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν ἀναλείψασθαι, καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων ἔσχατον ἐκτυπώσασθαι ταύτην, εἰ δυνατόν. [...] Ἐξείργασται γάρ μοι τὸ νῦν οὕτως ἔχον· ἢ τε τῶν πολυμαθεστάτων ἡμετέρων προγόνων τε ἅμα καὶ διδασκάλων (οἷς πλείστην οἶδα πᾶσι τὴν χάριν) μουσικὴ ἐπηνῶρθωται, τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν μὲν πᾶσι σχεδὸν χρωμένῳ σημείοις (οὐ γάρ μοι καλὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅλως τὴν Αθηνᾶν μετακινεῖν τοῦ Φειδίου)· πλὴν ὀλίγων προστεθειμένων τινῶν, τῆς τούτων διανοίας παρωρμημένῳ συντεθειμένων”.

simpler version of the Byzantine notation, being the father of the exegeses, i.e. notational analysis⁷⁸. This analytical version of the notation was initially imitated and later developed by Petros Peloponnesios who „almost arrived to transform the musical signs from symbols to letters”⁷⁹.

Some years after the death of Petros Peloponnesios, at the end of the 18th century, Agapios Palermos, after having spent several years in Europe – probably in Livorno of Italy – where he was studying the Western music in order to come back to „enlighten” the other Greeks⁸⁰, arrived in Constantinople and appeared to Patriarch ὩGregorios⁸¹. He then exposed the disadvantages of the Byzantine notation, in all probability putting forward its stenographic character and the instruction’s complexity. Apparently, his notational method was based on the staff notation, however, as it was also noticed without the „deficiencies” of the Western notation. One could conclude that Agapios made a kind of adaptation of the western system to the Byzantine needs. Unfortunately, there is no copy of his first system or pieces transcribed, and the study of his system is not possible. The result of his presentation to the Patriarch was that the Patriarch was persuaded and he decided that Agapios’ notational system had to be taught, and that the chanters of the Patriarchate were obliged to learn and use it.

⁷⁸ Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Θεωρητικόν*, XLVIII-XLIX, 75: „ἔπρεπε νὰ σηκωθῇ ἀπὸ τὰ ποιήματὰ των ἐκεῖνη ἢ διὰ τὸ πολυχρόνιον δυσκολία τῆς διδάξεως καὶ μεταδόσεως τῆς Ψαλμωδίας [...] καὶ νὰ συστηθῇ σύστημα χαρακτηρῶν ἀπλούστερον, μεθοδικώτερον καὶ στοιχειώδες, δι’ οὗ νὰ εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ γράφηται κάθε εἶδος μελωδίας, καὶ νὰ μεταδίδεται ἀπαρασάλευτως. Ὅθεν ἐν ἔτει αὐνιστ’, ὅταν ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλομούσου Κυρίλλου, τὰ τῆς Πατριαρχείας τότε διῆθοντος πηδάλια, προετράπη μετ’ ἐπιμονῆς ὁ Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν πασαπνοαρίων, πολυελέων, δοξολογιῶν καὶ κοινωνικῶν κτλ, μετεχειρίσθη τρόπον τοῦ γράφειν, ὅστις εἶναι διάφορος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, καὶ κλίνει εἰς τὸ ἐξηγηματικόν, καὶ ἐστάθη αὐτὸς ἡ ρίζα τοῦ ἐξηγηματικοῦ τρόπου, ὃν μετεχειρίσθη ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ Πέτρος”

⁷⁹ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* XLIX-L, 76-77: „σχεδὸν ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸ νὰ φέρῃ τοὺς μουσικοὺς χαρακτηρῶν ἀπὸ συμβόλων εἰς γράμματα”.

⁸⁰ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LI, 78, note α: „Οὗτος περιῆλθε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπιταυτοῦ, διὰ νὰ διδαχθῇ τὴν μουσικὴν τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ἐντελώς· ἔπειτα νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νὰ ὠφελήσῃ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς του κατὰ τοῦτο. Ὅθεν ἀφ’ οὗ ἐνεδυναμώθη ἀρκετὰ εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην μουσικὴν, ἦλθε εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὅρος· μὴ τελεσφορήσας δὲ ἐκεῖ, ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσον· ἀποτυχὼν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖ, ἦλθεν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν [...]”.

⁸¹ About the person and the life of Agapios Palermos, see, Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* L-LII; Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαὶ* 316 and note 1101; Gr. Stathis, «Εἰσαγωγή. Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Σημειογραφία καὶ αἱ γενόμεναι μεταγραφαὶ τῆς», in Διονυσίου Α. Ψαριανοῦ, 183 *Εκκλησιαστικοὶ Ὕμνοι εἰς Βυζαντινὴν καὶ Εὐρωπαϊκὴν Παρασημαντικὴν, Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Αθήνα 2004*, ρμγ’-ρμδ’; G. Plemmenos, *Το μουσικὸ πορτρέτο τοῦ Νεοελληνικοῦ Διαφωτισμοῦ*, Athens 2003, 69-102

Firstly, the fact that the Patriarch accepted Agapios' radical system is really impressive and could be explained by two factors: a. firstly, the complexity and difficulty of the Byzantine notation has been a fact accepted by the compositors and, consequently, known by the Patriarch. As the known attempts at a notational analysis or simplification of the notation already began in the 17th century, we could suppose that the problem was evident at the end of the 18th century. b. Secondly, as the ideas and the concepts of the Enlightenment influenced the thought of the scholars, they believed that Greeks would reveal their national identity through a turn towards the Ancient Greek Culture and towards the West⁸². The same reason led a little later to the choice of the notational reform of the Three Teachers, known as New Method of Byzantine Notation, and to the rejection of the notational attempt of Apostolos Konstas, which has been more traditional and directly related to the old stenographic notation. One more time in this case a notational system with several Western elements, as the syllabic *parallege*, covered under Byzantine signs was chosen⁸³.

Agapios' attempt on notational reform was the result of the analogous movements that had begun almost three centuries earlier and its reason was the complexity and the stenographic character of the Byzantine notation, to which many persons could not confront, and consequently they began to forget the right performance of the signs and the stenographic musical formulas.

However, the reactions against Agapios' staff system – which mainly came from Iakovos protopsaltes – did not permit its essential adoption. Blamed by the failure of his method, but also his attempt on notational reform, Agapios left Constantinople and, probably, went to a European city in order to study Western music further. He had to work more on his system and perhaps invent another more appropriate one,

⁸² About the Greek Enlightenment see, P. Kitromelides, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens 2000; idem, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism*, Princeton 1992; K. Th. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens 2007; A. Tampake, *Περί Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού. Ρεύματα ιδεών και διάλογοι επικοινωνίας με τη δυτική σκέψη*, Athens 2004.

⁸³ About that see, K. Romanou, „Η μεταρρύθμιση του 1814”, *Μουσικολογία* 1 (1985), 7-22; Plemmenos, *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο* 165-194; idem, “The active listener: Greek attitudes towards music listening in the Age of Enlightenment”, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997), 51-63; F. Kritikou, “Θεωρητικές συγγραφές Βυζαντινής Μουσικής του ΙΘ' αι. και Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός”, *Α' Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο της Νεοελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Τέχνης. Πρακτικά*, Athens 2009, 641-652.

apparently persuaded that the failure has been caused by some weaknesses of his method. Until 1815, the year of his death in Bucharest, he went back to Constantinople twice, suggesting another notational system, this time based on the Greek alphabet, an attempt which was not successful⁸⁴.

Besides, it is impressive that Agapios' alphabetical system, although not used in Constantinople, was supported in Europe and a Doxology written according to his notational system was printed in Vienna in 1813 by Leopold Ground' Printing House⁸⁵. On the first page of the edition it is written: „Doxology in third mode composed by Agapios Paliermos from the island of Chios according to the newly invented Greek tones”. Respectively, the title of the composition is: „Doxology in third mode composed by Agapios Paliermos and characterized [written] according to the diagram of his own system”⁸⁶. It is evident that Agapios, after his initial turn towards the Western staff notation, tried a second turn towards the other center of interest of the Ideas of the Enlightenment, the Ancient Greek culture, and he invented a notational system based on the Greek alphabet. This is also testified by the phrase „Greek tones” used on the first page, but also by the use of the word „tropos” instead of the term „echos”. According to Agapios' alphabetical system the composition is divided in meters. This composition starts with the letter M, probably used as a kind of key or the initial note; mainly the consonants of the Greek alphabet were used, replacing the phonetic signs of the Byzantine notation, other letters (usually the letter δ) in a smaller dimension is used probably indicating quality signs or generally a different expression, one, two or three lines underline some of the letters, probably as an indication of the time and the score is completed by points and commas. Agapios' two notational systems resolve the two essential problems of the Byzantine notation: first, its stenographic character does not exist anymore and, second, the inability

⁸⁴ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LI, note α.: „ἀποτυχὼν δέ, μετέβαλε τὸ σύστημα, καὶ ὅταν ἦλθε τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τὸ τρίτον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, μετεχειρίζετο τὸ Ἀλφάβητον”.

⁸⁵ See Gr. Stathis, „Εἰσαγωγή” ρμδ'. A photo of the title page and the first page of a Doxology have been provided to me by the colleague and friend Achilleas Chaldeaes. I have to thank him also from here.

⁸⁶ See the title page: „ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΣΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΙΟΥ ΠΑΛΙΕΡΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΣΤΙ ΕΠΙΝΟΗΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥΣ ΤΟΝΟΥΣ”. See also the title of the composition in the first page as following: “ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ συντεθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ μουσικολογιωτάτου κυρίου Ἀγαπίου Παλιέρμου Χίου, καὶ χαρακτηρηθεῖσα κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα τοῦ ἰδίου συστήματος”.

of the phonetic signs to indicate the same pitch has been precluded, as each letter indicates a stable pitch.

As it is mentioned above, the person most against the adoption of Agapios Paliermos' notational system was Iakovos Protopsaltes, one of the more conservative individuals of his time and a real guardian of the traditional Byzantine notational system and generally of chant⁸⁷. Iakovos Protopsaltes has been the major obstacle to the application of his system. According to Chrysanthos of Madytos' testimony, two facts are mentioned as impediments: a. Iakovos was never persuaded that the Byzantine notation had to be changed and b. his ironical and satirical behavior towards Agapios, his personality and his teaching method, frustrated the creator of the new notational system⁸⁸. This last notice of Chrysanthos creates a number of questions firstly about Agapios' teaching approach, which was inappropriate and perhaps middling, but mainly about his accent. We could only imagine the strength of Iakovos' reactions, which arrived to barrier the application of the patriarchal decision and led to the departure of Agapios. It was really unfortunate for Agapios that his attempt on notational reform coincided with the period when the first chanter of the Patriarchate was Iakovos, who „was keeping the tradition, following the traces of his teachers and he has not content with the innovations”⁸⁹. Thus, „he strongly fought Agapios' reforming attempt and his European notation”⁹⁰. In the general innovative atmosphere of the 18th century Iakovos was known as an extremely traditional personality. His very known composition, the *Doxastarion*, is composed with analytical, simple and *sticheraric theseis*, as it is usually noted in the title, in order to compose a shorter chant, using all the old *sticheraric theseis* and the new

⁸⁷ About his person and his life see, Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LI-LIII; Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί* 315-316; Gr. Th. Stathes, „Ιάκωβος πρωτοψάλτης ο Βυζάντιος (+23 Απριλίου 1800)”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, Τιμητικόν Αφιέρωμα εις Ενάγγελον Δ. Θεοδώρου*, ΛΒ' (1997), 317-334; Ch. G. Patrinelis, „Συμβολαί εις την Ιστορίαν του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου. Α' Πρωτοψάλται, λαμπαδάριοι και δομέστικοι της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας (1453-1821)”, *Μνημοσύνη* 2 (1968-69), 64-93; Chatzeyiakoumes, *Χειρόγραφα* 49 and 97 notes 269-272; idem, *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*, Athens 1975, 299-302.

⁸⁸ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LII, 78: „Διὰ τὸ ἀκατάπειστον ὅμως τοῦ Πρωτοψάλτου Ἰακώβου, καὶ διὰ τὰς εἰρωνεῖας τοῦ πρὸς τὴν προφορὰν καὶ τὸν τρόπον διδάξεως τοῦ Ἀγαπίου, δὲν ἔγινε καρπός”.

⁸⁹ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LI, 78: „Ὁ δὲ διάδοχος τοῦ Δανυὴλ Ἰάκωβος ὁ Πρωτοψάλτης, ἀκριβῶς φυλάττων τὰ παραδεδομένα, τοῖς ἰχνεῖσιν ἐμμόνως βαίνων τὰν διδασκάλων του, δὲν ἔχαιρεν τόσοις εἰς νεωτερισμοὺς”.

⁹⁰ Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί* 315-316 note 1101.

ones⁹¹. Iakovos' persistence to the tradition is indicated from this notice but also from his whole compositional practice. It is also evident that he derives his material from older compositional models according to the ancient practice of the imitation of the older composers. This impressive composer has been charged to point out the weaknesses of Agapios Paliermos' notational system and the inappropriate use of the staff notation for the Byzantine music. Apparently, Iakovos persuaded Agapios that his system was unfavorable for the writing and the teaching of the Byzantine chant and that perhaps he himself did not have the necessary knowledge to assign the truth of the wise observations of Iakovos protopsaltes, who has been a man of education and musical experience, and he decided to go to Europe in order to learn more about the European music"⁹².

Agapios' attempt does not have to be considered as a self-centered movement in order to discredit and eliminate the traditional Byzantine notational system and to impose his own method. Chrysanthos refers to the fact that Agapios initially appeared to the Patriarch asking to correct the existing notational system, explaining the reasons which led to this attempt, or to invent another new system, or to keep Agapios' system and to transcribe all the Byzantine compositions according to it⁹³. In other words he proposed to correct all the „faults“ of the Byzantine notation, but firstly to explain the reasons leading to that, in order to not consider the correction as an arbitrary movement. As a second resolution, he proposed the adoption of another notational system, either his own system or another. The fact that he proposed the adoption of another system and not necessary his own system points out that he was acting in order to conserve the musical tradition through an easier notational system. The same intention is indicated by the fact that he considered the transcription of the

⁹¹ See for instance the introductory note in the manuscript 52/200 (f. 1r) of K. A. Psachos Library, Doxastarion of Iakovos protopsaltes written by Anastasios Prikonessios round the end of the 18th century: „Δοξαστικά τῶν δεσποτικῶν καὶ θεομητορικῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἑορταζομένων ἀγίων καὶ τινὰ ιδιόμελα τοῦ Τριωδίου καὶ Πεντηκοσταρίου συντεθέντα κατὰ συντομώτερον τρόπον, ἐκ θέσεων στιχηρῶν τε καὶ εἰρμολογικῶν παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας κυρὸ Ἰακώβου“.

⁹² Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί* 316, note 1101.

⁹³ Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν* LI: „[...] νὰ διορθώσωσι τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν σύστημα, δόντες τοὺς πρέποντας λόγους, ἢ νὰ ἐφεύρωσι ἄλλο νεώτερον, ἢ νὰ κρατήσωσι τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀγαπίου προσφερόμενον, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ νὰ μεταγράψωσιν ὅλα τὰ ὁποῖα ἡξεύρουσιν Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ μέλη“.

whole Byzantine musical production to any other notational system, chosen in order to conserve the Byzantine musical tradition.

Agapios Paliermos' attempts on notational reform have not been fruitful because they have been really radical, while, on the contrary, the new analytical method, which was finally chosen, was a bright system with several elements of the staff notation occurring beneath the Byzantine signs. It has been a brilliant combination of the two notational systems, the staff and the Byzantine one. Nevertheless, Agapios' notational systems, clearly turned towards the Western notation and Ancient Greek music, have been the beginning of a sequence of similar attempts of the 19th century, such as the notational system of Georgios Lesvios, the alphabetical systems of Bucharest and the one of Paisios of the Monastery of Xeropotamos, or the attempts to harmonize the Byzantine chant and, clearly, the whole „musical issue” of the beginning of the 20th cent⁹⁴.

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